

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER,

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Vol. 17, No. 3.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1870.

{ Price Fourpence Stamped
Threepence Unstamped

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SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

It is not difficult to discern that the Brazilian Ministry is exceedingly uneasy on the subject of Slavery. The spirit of fear pervades its concessions, repudiations, mental reservations, and menaces. They fear discussion; they cannot prevent discussion; it is a symptom which there is no mistaking; and discussion must tend to results which there is no evading but for a brief time, so that those who might now guide popular opinion safely, will, if not wise in time, be almost inevitably swept away before its resistless tide.

On the 21st July, the President of the Council felt it necessary to protest against opinions attributed to him, viz. that he, on the part of the Ministry, had declared that he would take no step in regard to the

servile element. He denied this. They must, however, solve the question without disturbing the rights of property. They must learn the extent of their slave population, the relation existing between the sexes, whether the slave population increases, and how many are annually liberated. Each of them possessing slaves had the power to free them. These discussions, he said, only create great embarrassment, difficulties, and perils. A noble deputy had said: "If the Ministry did not hasten to take satisfactory measures, the question would have to be resolved by some explosion." These discussions excited fear amongst those who contributed most taxes, especially where families of four to six persons lived in the midst of a hundred or more slaves. The question was one involving individual safety. The examples of France, England and America were not pertinent examples

to Brazil. They must be cautious in taking the first step in this matter, because it might rapidly be followed by others. The Ministry wished to concur with that august chamber in taking measures to conduct them gradually to the result which all of them desired; but they would not precipitate them. Slavery would not endure long if its extinction were aided by some indirect measures. They were progressing towards this, even by the effects of death, and the feelings of humanity of their countrymen—innate in the hearts of all Brazilians—in this respect far beyond the slave-holders of other countries. In ten years, within the city of Rio de Janeiro alone, with less than a total of 250,000 souls, out of 50,000 slaves there had been 14,000 manumissions besides those unregistered. If, aided by indirect measures with which they were ready to concur, Slavery would be at an end in Brazil before very long, why so great impatience, which might arouse within the slaves the hope of proximate emancipation?

This is the pith of the President's speech in the Chamber of Deputies, on July 17; and in the Senate, on the 27th of July, the Baron de Cotegipe, the Minister of Marine, referring to emancipation, said it was not proper for the Government to shape opinion—it should come from below; he maintained his views that it was necessary to wait for studies of the question. It had to be looked to on the economic as well as the humanitarian side, and care had to be taken not to risk the public tranquillity. He said this with entire frankness, though they might call him slavocrat, retrograde—what they wished. He would state his opinion with unhesitating frankness. If he could not do so as a minister, he would as a senator. He saw so many threatening evils from any error committed, that, if he could avoid ministerial responsibility, he would give Emancipation over to those whose conscience was sufficiently at ease to let them take charge of its promotion.

On the 2nd of August, on the resumption of the debate on the vote of thanks in response to the speech from the Throne, Senor Narbuco, replying to the Baron de Cotegipe on the subject of Emancipation, said the speech of the noble senator made him lose hope of any speedy solution of the question. As well as he could gather from the speeches of his Excellency and the President of the Council, their idea was to wait until all the slaves should die. This would be to leave all to chance, and to bring down a great cataclysm on the country. The final words of his previous speech had been twisted from their natural sense. He did not advocate a *coup d'état*: what he meant was, that the Crown should abdicate

its personal power, and place itself in the van of reform.

The speech of the Prime Minister is totally unworthy of a great epoch, of a great nation, and of this grave question. With a humane people like the Brazilians, not excluding slave-owners, on its own showing; with the national sentiment so quickened that voluntary emancipations in Rio alone were 30 per cent. in ten years, and elsewhere in proportion; with an almost boundless area of cultivatable land, much of it with only two occupants per square mile; surely it were enough to fire the mere ambition of the Prime Minister; to give effect to the wishes of the Emperor and the people; and to inspire faith in the verdict of history as illustrating the justice of God on all—nations as well as individuals—who shall obstinately refuse to "do as they would be done unto."

The President speaks of the rights of property, as if these rights would ever be put in competition with those rights to personal liberty which are above and beyond all human law, and are absolutely Divine.

Surely the beneficent and successful example of the Emperor Alexander conferring freedom and land upon the serfs of Russia, in the teeth of his nobles; and, on the other hand, the fearful retribution incurred and endured by the Southern States of America in their infamous and obstinate endeavour to perpetuate Slavery; or the horrors of Cuba, endured at the present moment; surely these facts and their lessons ought not to be lost upon Brazil.

Is the mortality among slaves so great that there is a prospect of their dying out? Fearful question—if there be any question. It is to be hoped that Count Itaborahy will not stumble or wander about this matter of statistics; it does not become the principle of the thing.

As to the slaves not indulging the hope of "proximate emancipation," doubtless this is indulged; and the tens of thousands of instances of emancipation which are taking place will inspire hope or gall to revenge, according to the natures of those still held in bondage. There seems an idea on both sides—Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery men agreeing, apprehending, expecting that one of two things must come—Slave Emancipation or a violent explosion. There is no doubt that the apprehension is well founded. And the whole civilised world looks on with pity and disgust, and looks forward with alarm, in relation to Brazil.

Would that the Brazilian Ministry would do that which is right, or make way for men who would liberate the slave! If they will do neither, they seem likely

to turn what might, under the blessing of God, become comparatively a paradise, into a pandemonium, and if so, they and theirs will, most likely, perish in the conflagration.

— — —
BILL BY SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE
SLAVE ELEMENT.

We learn from the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, since the foregoing article was put into type, that the special committee on the slave element presented their report to the Chamber of Deputies on the 12th August, which was read by Senor Teixeira Leite. It is exceedingly elaborate: hence it may be inferred that it is not exceedingly satisfactory. The two main features of their bill are—1. That slave births shall cease immediately after the bill shall become law—the owner of the mother to have the choice of receiving 30 dollars a year for thirty years for every child reared to eight years of age, or the minor's gratuitous services to his fifteenth year, and for six years longer at moderate wages. 2. The provisions affecting existing slaves comprise: authority gratuitously to emancipate public slaves, and prohibits their alienation; compulsory registration of ownership; summary process in freedom-suits, and exemption of its claimant from payment of costs. There are various provisions encouraging emancipation societies and private individuals to free slaves, and facilitating the purchase of freedom by slaves themselves.

The paper above quoted writes as follows respecting the bill:—

"Indubitably the battle-ground will be upon the clause declaring the womb free. Both friends and foes well know that, whether the principle of free births be won or lost, the other provisions of the bill will not materially affect the present status of slaves and slave-owners, and, in the first case, will be collateral results of the victory, and, in the other, will be yielded as *sops* to public opinion.

"We fear, however, that the crucial test of a vote upon the clause will not be obtained this session, even in the Chamber of Deputies, still less in the Senate. The policy of the cabinet in regard to the anti-slavery agitation is completely hostile to any legislation, and the strength of the party of action has not yet reached a degree sufficient to force the ministry to abandon its Fabian tactics in regard to a question which it has repeatedly shown it is determined to treat as a cabinet one."

— — —
His Royal Highness Prince Louis of Orleans, Count d'Eu (son-in-law of the Emperor of Brazil), and the Princess, are now on a visit to this country, and it is reported that the Emperor intends to visit Europe "at the close of the war."

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

COMMISSARY-JUDGE CRAWFORD's annual report, dated Havana, Sept. 30, 1869, copied from the *Slave-Trade Papers* into the last number of *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, contains the following:—

"The bitter hatred which exists between Spaniard and Cuban will eventually lead to the solution of the difficulty, and accomplish what perhaps neither party could calmly undertake. If the Cubans succeed in achieving their independence, Slavery, being abolished by law, must immediately cease But, again, should the insurrection be quelled, the Spaniards will most probably maintain Slavery at all hazards, and a revival of the Slave-Trade is not at all unlikely."

Our last number also contained "The law of Slavery Abolition in Cuba and Porto Rico, as voted by the Spanish Cortes, June 22nd;" with some editorial remarks on the objectionable character of the Act.

There is, however, one feature of the measure for which we feel bound to express our thankfulness to Senor Moret, viz. the "suppression of the punishment of the lash." This humane provision, which was afterwards added to the bill in the Cortes, deserves high commendation, and we hope that the Spanish Government will insist on its observance; but if the late news from Cuba be true, the planters, especially the volunteers, are in a state of mind calculated to inspire strong fears on this subject.

We have as usual contradictory intelligence as to their resolutions in reference to the new Spanish "scheme of Abolition." According to one report, at a meeting of planters and wealthy slave-owners, held at the palace of Captain-General de Rodas, on the 1st July, they unanimously expressed approval of the measure; but it was also resolved to request the Home Government to consult them as to the mode of carrying out the law. Then we hear that a second meeting was held, on the 11th July, at which a committee of twenty-five was appointed to consider the matter, and report, at the earliest date possible, the most feasible and liberal plan for the abolition of Slavery throughout the island; while at a subsequent meeting, composed of the chiefs of the volunteers, convened by Captain-General de Rodas, three resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

1. That the law of Emancipation voted by the Cortes should be disregarded; 2. That so far from complying with an order, that all volunteers who had enlisted since the 10th April should be disarmed, they, with their chiefs, General De Rodas at their head, would at once refuse to execute,

or permit to be executed, any order from Madrid that was inconvenient; and, 3. That in case it became necessary, the volunteers would themselves take in hand the reins of government in the island, until at any rate Spain should bring about such a new condition of things as should inspire confidence.

It may be somewhat difficult to accept these statements implicitly, but the resolutions seem to us to be quite consonant with the general character and conduct of these volunteers, who are reported to be now upwards of 60,000 strong, well drilled and well armed. When far less numerous, they expelled General Dulce, the captain-general appointed by the Spanish provisional government; and now, wherever the Cuban insurrectionists are not congregated, the volunteers "rule Cuba from one end to the other"; and more than this, they practically ignore, and are prepared to defy, and even to throw off, the Government at home.

Free Spain has been fighting on the side of Slavery and the slave-owners. Slave-owners are now her masters. From this terrible state of things she will never recover but by a measure of complete emancipation.

There is a bad consistency about these volunteers: they have seized the property, and captured some, and destroyed the lives of other, American citizens; they refuse to return the former, while their atrocities on native Cubans and on negroes—many of the latter held in bondage, in base violation of treaty rights—have been of such a nature as to exceed those ordinarily practised by barbarians, and to shock the feelings of all civilised nations. All this has been done in the teeth of the Governments of Republican America and Constitutional England—both of whom avow themselves prepared jointly to avail themselves of any right opportunity to mitigate the horrors of civil war in the island of Cuba. The Legislatures of the two countries, and the press of every enlightened land, have cried shame on the volunteers—whose conduct has provoked all but equally atrocious reprisals from the insurrectionists.

Meanwhile, we hear that cholera, fever, and prolonged civil war are doing their dreadful work on a vast scale; yet Spain was to send out 15,000 additional troops during September to aid in crushing the insurrection—an event which had often been reported by Spain to have occurred before: but within a few days we have read in the *Times*—"From Cuba we learn that the rebellion is still going on, and there is but little likelihood of its being suppressed."

Spain will do well, we shall do well, to contemplate Professor Crawford's statement. Last month we gave Senor Castelar's masterly and unanswerable speech in favour of immediate emancipation.

The mother country can never enjoy liberty herself, and doom her daughters of the West to slavery: she must go down to the condition of Cuba and Porto Rico, or bring them up to her own level.

We lament that Senor Moret has not yet fulfilled the ordinances of justice, and constituted himself the liberator of the Slaves of the Spanish Antilles; but let him do this effectively at the commencement of the coming session of the Cortes, in accordance with the pledge of the Government, and he will gain to his name well-merited and lasting honour.

The lingering fires of insurrection are being smothered with relentless hand by the Spaniards. Figures—father and son—have been executed with frightful atrocity; the son was compelled to witness the father's torturing execution. Desultory battling still continues in the mountains, and property is being destroyed wherever found.—*New York Tribune*, September 8th.

KIDNAPPING IN THE SOUTH SEAS.

THIS painful subject will perhaps by slow degrees force itself on our Government for more vigorous treatment. We have lying before us evidence of a painful character that force and fraud are both exercised by unprincipled men to supply the labour markets of Queensland, Fiji, and New Caledonia. We have no desire to disparage or present any obstacles to legitimate emigration; but on the other hand, our country must not blot its history, and character, and obligations, in relation to Slavery. We apprehend that evidence of such a conclusive kind, and to such an extent, will be accumulated, that special steps will be taken by our own and other Governments, so that at any rate all but a clandestine Slave-trade will be put down and kept down. Meanwhile religion and civilisation are both disgraced and retarded—and good men are scandalised and discouraged.

We give present evidence below from several separate sources:—

I. THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

Extract from a letter by the Rev. John Atkin, one of the Society's missionaries in Melanesia, in the last annual report of the Society:—

"KIDNAPPING.

"NORFOLK ISLAND, May 17.—Our friends at the island will be glad to see us after nearly

two years' absence, and we are anxious to visit them again. Traders have been visiting some of the places that we know, and taking away natives to work at the cotton plantations in Fiji, New Caledonia, or Queensland. Some of these traders, if they cannot entice men on board, force them to go against their will. The matter has been taken up warmly in Sydney, and we hope that this will soon be stopped; but in the meantime we may be driven from some places where we were just beginning to know the people, by their not being able to distinguish between one white man and another, and wishing to revenge upon us the injury done them by the last vessel they saw."

Extract from the letter of the Rev. J. S. Palmer, another missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts :—

"KIDNAPPING.

"The Bishop and Messrs. Atkin and Brooke stayed with me at Mota whilst the vessel was in the harbour; she was detained there for a fortnight. They made an excursion to Motlav and Valua; walked round that island, and visited the people. From this one island alone some 130 or more people have been carried away in what these people call Sydney vessels. Where they are they do not of course know, and their constant inquiry of us was as to whether we had seen any of them. Small vessels are engaged in this trade; they get men on board, or suffer them to come on board, and then sail away with them. In New Caledonia and other places the captain receives so much per head for every *free labourer*. I could not hear from the Mota people that any of them knew where the men were taken to, except that there was a general idea that the vessels were Sydney vessels; but one man mentioned the name of Brisbane, which is perhaps nearer the fact. Ten men and women had been taken from Mota. Two or three of the poor people offered the Bishop two or three large pigs—a great treasure in their estimation—if he would go back and fetch their friends. Whilst I was at Mota one of these vessels came there; a boat came ashore manned by Fate men only; each had a gun by his side. They talked in English with one of our old scholars, who knew a few words of English. I was at the time at the other side of the island, and did not know of a vessel being near, but when they heard of a white man being on the island they went away. The people are of course angry that their friends have been carried off and not brought back again, and, in all probability, had no one of our party been there, they would have seized the boat. They were, as it was, prepared for it, and had the guns in their possession; but milder counsels prevailed. This is not likely always to happen, and I fear we shall hear of boats being cut off. The Bishop is now, we expect, cruising in the New Hebrides. He will doubtless hear more there. Some steps should be taken to either stop the traffic entirely, or, if the people are willing to work, to bring the matter under proper control."

II. THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.
Abridged from the *Missionary Chronicle*,
September, 1870 :—

"KIDNAPPING IN POLYNESIA.

"From information lately received from a missionary of long standing and large experience, it is clear that the system of kidnapping the natives of the smaller islands in the Pacific is far from extinct. The statements recently received enter with considerable minuteness of detail into the mode of conducting this business of procuring 'labourers' for the white settlers in the Fiji and other islands. In effecting this with the natives, there is ample ground for the belief that deception is the rule, and cases where there is a fair understanding between the native and his employer are quite exceptional. One who has been engaged as an agent in these transactions has acknowledged that the settlers on the Fijis, on the arrival of a cargo of native 'labourers,' have no means of knowing for a certainty whether the natives had come of their own free will. In certain cases referred to 'the natives agreed for *six months* at six dollars per month, but they were made to sign for *five years* at two dollars per month. Our informant saw this document with the names attached, and yet both the natives and the captain stated that they were engaged on the former terms. The formal document, duly signed, is presented in port. "All right," exclaims the planter. The stipulated sum is paid to the captain, and the natives are the slaves of the planter for five years at least. If they fail to entice the natives in this way, they seek to entrap them on board their vessel, and afterwards induce them to sign the agreement.' An instance is then cited in which a captain of a vessel anchoring off Tau, the largest island of Mamia, tried to induce a gentleman to procure 200 natives—offering to make it worth his while, but in vain. The natives were to be invited to dine on board, and were to be forcibly detained. Another case is given, in which 200 natives, who had been decoyed and detained on board another vessel, rose up against the captain and crew, slaying the former and some of the latter, when the mate laid a train of gunpowder along under the deck, sent the survivors of the crew into the hold, and fired the train, and blew up the natives and the deck with terrible results. The missionary states that he saw orders for natives from five different parties in the Fijis. Surely this is plain evidence as to the general character of the traffic. The traffic, moreover, is being conducted on an extensive scale. Natives are being taken from islands on both sides of the

equator—from the Carolinas and the Solomon's Group in the west, to about the Marquesas and the Paumotu in the east. They are carried off to the American coast, to Australia, to the Fiji Islands, and to the plantations on Upolu, as well as to Tahiti. The evils which the system must entail upon the natives, both those taken from their homes and those of their families who are left, are incalculable, while the immorality induced by it must be fearful. Women are taken as well as men. A preponderance of women seems to be desired."

III. THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

From the Report of Foreign Missions, 1870 :—

"It was remitted by Synod to the Foreign Mission Committee to take whatever steps they might deem advisable in the way of bringing under the notice of Government the quasi slave-traffic which has been carried on for several years among the islands of the New Hebrides. As in previous Reports the nature of this traffic has been clearly set forth, it is at present unnecessary to enter into detail regarding the injurious effects which it is producing upon the Mission, upon the natives, and upon the men who are engaged in it. It is satisfactory to your Committee to know that the steps which they have taken have been the means of calling the attention of the public to a course of proceedings which required only to be exposed to the light of day to call forth the reprobation of every right-thinking man."

"The writer of this Report, and the Foreign Mission Committee, feel that a peremptory and complete stop cannot too soon, for the credit of the British and Colonial Government, be put to this system, which presents several of the worst features of that slave-trade of which it was supposed that Britain had many years ago washed her hands."

"The Committee fully endorse the opinion of Lord Clarendon, that a slave-trade with the South Sea Islands is being gradually established by British speculators for the benefit of British settlers; and would request your sanction to their taking all possible means for its entire suppression. Letters received very recently from the missionaries represent the traffic as still continuing."

[We have additional information, the insertion of which will take place in an early number.—ED. A.-S. R.]

PROGRESS OF SIR S. BAKER.

(To the Editor of *The Times*.)

SIR,—I have received a long letter from Sir Samuel Baker, dated the 15th June, at Towfikeeya, on the banks of the White Nile, in lat. 9° 26' N.

Since our traveller was there in 1865 the course of the White Nile had become obstructed by a great dam, composed of masses of marsh vegetation floated downwards, beneath which passes the water of the river. The slave-traders having been thus prevented from following this usual route to their old haunts, had discovered a passage to Gondokoro by way of the Bahr Giraffe, which has thus proved to be not a tributary, but an arm of the main river. Up this arm Baker attempted to proceed, and, after surmounting many difficulties, reached lat. 7° 47' 46" N.; but found his progress arrested by masses of tangled marsh vegetation, through which a canal had to be cut for his vessels to pass, and finally, some miles beyond, he was forced to return by the shallowness of the water, the arm being passable only in the rainy season.

His camp, on the banks of the main river, being established, Sir Samuel will employ his 1,500 men to sow and reap corn for the advance to Gondokoro in November next. At the station he has stopped a boat laden with 150 slaves, who, he says, were packed as close as sardines in a cask. Including another lot which he had liberated, he had already freed 305 of these miserable creatures—mostly women, young girls, and boys; and he writes with satisfaction that one of the first labours of his English blacksmiths was to cut through the chains which bound these unfortunates together, all of whom on obtaining their freedom were duly registered.

Lady Baker and himself have been free of all ailments; his nephew, Lieut. Baker, R.N., had been highly serviceable; and his six English mechanics had proved efficient and well conducted.

The details of this most interesting letter of Sir Samuel Baker will be read before the Geographical Section at the forthcoming meeting of the British Association at Liverpool, which, I hope, will be presided over by

Your obedient servant,

RODERICK I. MURCHISON.

Folkestone, Aug. 24th.

SIR SAMUEL BAKER AND SLAVERY.

(To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.)

DEAR FRIEND,—In the *Daily News* of September 17th, a relation is given of what passed on the above subject in the Geographical Section of the British Association, now assembled at Liverpool. At a meeting presided over by Sir Roderick Murchison, he read a letter recently received from Col. Staunton, the British Consul-General in Egypt, stating that Sir Samuel Baker

had been made a Pacha by the Egyptian Viceroy. A discussion followed, in which Sir Samuel was lauded for his energy in carrying out the wise act of the Viceroy, for putting an end to the *violent* pillage of the people, and preventing them from being made slaves by *violence*. This was replied to by Dr. G. Campbell, who, whilst rejoicing, as all must do, at Sir Samuel's success so far, could not agree in the view that the suppression of the Slave-Trade was the main object of the expedition. He thought that possibly the extension of a great Mahomedan and *Slaveholding* power over the natives of Central Africa, might not be the blessing that some anticipated. The President, in his reply, seemed quite to ignore the idea that Slavery could ever be abolished in Central Africa by any Mahomedan power, seeing that it was considered to be a *domestic institution* by such (thus confirming Dr. C.'s conclusions), but he reminded Dr. Campbell that the question was not between Mahomedanism and Christianity, but between Mahomedanism and actual Paganism—some will add perhaps, a distinction without much difference.

After Sir S. Baker's book was published, a few years since, the British Association met at Nottingham, and he attended. In the course of the meeting, he was asked his real opinion of the Black race; his reply was condemnatory, and epigrammatically short, viz. "*They are black.*" But unfortunately for Sir S. Baker's consistency, he had previously given several individuals of this *black* lot a very different character. He tells us, in one place, that he left his wife for weeks under the care of one of these all-dark creatures, whilst he was away upon a hunting expedition, and in taking leave of his black servant he seemed to have had a very high estimate of his character; as in his description of the parting, the words "faithful" and "devoted" appeared to express his feelings very inadequately.

Some of us regret to think that Dr. Campbell's view of Baker's expedition is the true one. England has stamped out with her mailed foot (and at what a cost!) the little glimmer of Christian light in Abyssinia, and is it not most probable that we may live to lament that *now* there is nothing left to stay the spread of Mahomedanism and its accompanying *domestic institution* in Central Africa. Sir Samuel's efforts may put the trade on a more decent footing, but does not the extension of the Egyptian Viceroy's dominion, mean a co-extension of the Slave System?

I am, very respectfully,

WM. ALLEN.

Winchmore Hill, Ninth Month 20th, 1870.

BERBICE.

DEATH OF THE REV. T. HENDERSON.

WE regret to announce the death (on Saturday, Aug. 30, in Berbice) of the Rev. Thomas Henderson, from yellow fever, after an illness of two days. Mr. Henderson had been in the colony about thirty years, and was for a long time stationed at Buxton, on the East Coast of Demerara, whence he was removed about three years ago to Berbice. He was always very zealous in the performance of his duties as a Christian minister, and we have no doubt his death will be felt as a great loss, not only by the members of his congregation, but also by the small band of brother ministers in that connection who have laboured with him for years in this colony.—*Creole*.

JAMAICA.

HIS EXCELLENCY Lieut. - Governor Cairns, from St. Kitts, arrived at Jamaica in the British Mail Packet *Shannon*, en route for Belize, Honduras, where he will supersede Governor Longden, who has been promoted to the Governorship of Trinidad, in the room of the Hon. Arthur Gordon, who succeeds Sir Henry Barkly in the Mauritius; and in consequence of some disturbance being threatened at Belize, troops were hurried off from Kingston in H. M. S. *Vestal*, on which Mr. Cairns embarked.—*The Creole*, June 8.

ST. LUCIA.

THE *Times* Correspondent at St. Lucia, under date of Aug. 26, says that his Excellency the Governor-in-Chief of the Windward Islands paid us a short visit on his return from the other islands under his supervision. In consequence of Mr. Des Vœux, the administrator of this Government, being away on the Demerara Commission, Governor Rawson did not enter into any important business.

Alexander Clavier, Esq., Acting Registrar-General of St. Lucia, states, in the *Official Gazette* of July 18, that there were 1,359 births registered in 1869 (1,271 were living children), of whom 472 were legitimate, and 887 were illegitimate. There were 21 cases of twin births.

LABOUR CONTRACTS.—We fear that for want of a stringent labour contract between masters and servants in this colony, many of the recently-arrived immigrants from Barbadoes have begun to wander from one estate to another, much to the injury of those planters who have gone to the expense of bringing them into the island.

We are glad to be informed that the Government has in hand the framing of such a contract between masters and servants, that while the servant will be hindered from indulging those caprices which render him at present almost the arbiter of estates' work, he will be carefully protected from any vexatious or arbitrary abuse of his power by the master.—*St. Lucian*, July 30.

TRINIDAD.

THE EX-GOVERNOR, THE PLANTERS, AND THE COOLIES.

IT was a laudable ambition, no doubt, on the part of Mr. Gordon, to connect his name, before leaving Trinidad for Mauritius, with such an important piece of legislation as the Immigration Consolidation Ordinance. But beyond this there did not seem such a pressing necessity to pass the measure in a hurry, and the fact that it involves one or two important alterations in the system, should have been conclusive against the Governor driving a coach and six through the standing orders. The first thing to be noticed is, that all the clauses relating to the indentures of Chinese immigrants have been struck out—a proof that the colony has given up the idea of endeavouring to resume immigration from China. There is nothing extraordinary in this, as the Chinese coolies have never, from some cause or other, been appreciated in Trinidad as they have been in Demerara. The transformation of medical attendants on estates into Government officers is a measure the necessity of which is not apparent at first sight. It will increase the patronage of the authorities considerably; but there seems no reason to suppose that a better class of men will be obtained for the work. What is the interest of the planter now? Of course to keep his people as healthy as possible; and it is clearly to his own advantage to have the best medical assistance that he can possibly obtain. The Government doctor will not be more independent of the planter than the present medical officer, and he will be more likely to get into a mechanical, routine way of doing his work. At all events, the labourer will not be better cared for under the new arrangement than he has been under the old. (?) The rationing of the coolies for two years instead of one is likely, according to the Immigration Agent-General, to lessen the mortality among these people on the estates, and therefore no objection can be made to it; but if the coolies are not able to do so? It is proper, of course, to take every measure to lessen the mortality; but, at the same time, care should be taken

not to interfere to an undue extent with the freedom of action of the labourer.—*European Mail* (abridged).

SOUTH AFRICA.

THE HOME GOVERNMENT, THE COLONISTS, AND THE ABORIGINES.

THE action of the English Government has virtually handed over the Aborigines to the European settlers, and unless they agree to prescribe a common system of dealing with them, a few years will witness another of those native risings, which, in times not long past, wrought such mischief, first in the colony, and subsequently in the Free State. The native question is a great one, and can only be satisfactorily solved in a Council representing all the European settlements in South Africa. Until such a Council is established, there will exist no body equal to the emergency that must sooner or later arise in connection with the natives, now that they are abandoned by England and left to be dealt with as each separate settlement may determine. The Cape has one policy, the Free State another, Natal a third, and the Transvaal a fourth, where but one uniform system should obtain.—*Port Elizabeth Telegraph*.

NATAL.

RETURN PASSAGES FOR COOLIES.—The ability to provide return passages for Coolies will be of annual recurrence for some time to come, but it is one which should be properly borne by the fund raised for Indian Immigration, if by any means any portion of it can be restored to its original use.—*Sir R. W. Keate to the Legislative Council of Natal*.

PROPOSED AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.—The advices from Australia report that a conference in Melbourne was to be held in June, to represent all the colonies of the Australian group. The measures to be discussed were fiscal, territorial, and also free-trade and postal questions, in which each colony has both separate and general interests. There is every reason, it is said, to hope, from the concurrence of men of all parties, that a substantial progress may be made in arriving at a common ground of action. Federation may yet be impracticable, from the difficulty of obtaining mutual concessions; "but these conferences, now somewhat frequent, although not yet fruitful in result, are significant of the fact that there are necessities for meeting, and that union is at least desirable."—*Times Correspondent*, Aug. 20.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SEPTEMBER 30, 1870.

THE LATE JOSIAH FORSTER.

At the time of issuing our last number, the recent decease of our valued and venerable coadjutor only permitted us to furnish a very short allusion to the last effort he was enabled to make in the Anti-Slavery cause, on a deputation to the late Earl of Clarendon, for promoting the immediate liberation of the Slaves in Cuba.

His energies were primarily devoted to the religious welfare of the Society of Friends, to which he belonged. He was nevertheless, actively engaged, from an early period, in those movements which were designed to extinguish the Slave-Trade and Slavery; being one of the last of our fellow-labourers, connecting the times of Wilberforce and Clarkson with the yet unfinished labours which the cause still demands at our hands.

In the early part of 1825, we find him a member of the Committee of the Society established for the mitigation and gradual extinction of Slavery. In 1831 he became a member of the Agency Committee for exposing the sin of Slavery, and for urging the duty of promoting its immediate abolition, by sending lecturers throughout England, Scotland and Ireland. In 1845 he made a voyage to the United States, deputed by the London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, with his brother, William Forster, George Stacey, and John Allen, for the purpose of healing some differences among friends of the Anti-Slavery cause in Indiana. In 1850 he accompanied his brother, William Forster, in part of an extensive journey, to present an address on the subject of Slavery from the London Yearly Meeting to Sovereigns and others in authority in Europe, and in other parts of the world where the Christian religion is professed. In 1853, when 70 years of age, he paid a second visit to the United States, on behalf of the London Yearly Meeting, for the purpose of presenting an Anti-Slavery Address to the President, and to the Governors and others in authority both in the Free and Slave States. On this journey he was accompanied by the late John Candler, William Holmes, and his brother William Forster (father of the present Cabinet Minister, W. E. Forster, M.P., Vice-President of the Council on Education), who, when the arduous undertaking had been nearly accomplished, died at Ferry House, near Friendsville, in Tennessee.

It may supposed that this last service, a Christian remonstrance against the sin of American Slavery, striking its roots deeper every year into the Commerce and Legislation of the United States—faithfully and earnestly performed—was not an easy duty; but it was well done, and remains a standing testimony against a stupendous national iniquity then soon to be extinguished in a fearful national judgment.

Our dear departed friend was for many years a devoted and valued member of the Committee of our British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; but his sympathies were world-wide, and his time and strength were freely dedicated to help forward every undertaking for the welfare of his fellow-men.

EARL GRANVILLE ON SLAVERY IN CUBA.

WE inserted, in our last number, a letter which had been prepared for the late Earl of Clarendon, in acknowledgment of his Lordship's courtesy in furnishing copies of certain dispatches, &c.; but, owing to his Lordship's lamented decease, Mr. Joseph Cooper forwarded the same to his successor, the Right Hon. Earl Granville. The following is Earl Granville's reply:—

“Foreign Office,

“July 19th, 1870.

“Sir,—I am directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, inclosing one from the Anti-Slavery Society, commenting upon the Project of Law for the emancipation of slaves in the Spanish Colonies, and the amendment thereto, which have been submitted to the Cortes, and I am to request that you will inform the Society that a copy of their paper will be sent to her Majesty's Minister at Madrid, with instructions to acquaint the Spanish Government with the views of the Society with regard to the proposed measure and its amendments.

“But I am to state that Lord Granville concurs in the opinion expressed by Lord Clarendon to the Society at their interview with him, that the present time is inopportune for pressing upon the Spanish Government a demand for the immediate liberation of all slaves introduced into Cuba since 1820. The action of the Spanish Government in this matter, although falling short of the expectations of her Majesty's Government, has been spontaneous, and such a demand would probably arrest it; it will, therefore, be better, while keeping the Spanish Government fully acquainted with the views and feelings of her Majesty's Government, and of the public in this country, upon the question of Slavery in the Spanish Colonies, to watch the measures of emancipation proposed by the Government, and to await the issue of the deliberations of the Spanish Cortes upon this important ques-

tion, which it is hoped may thus eventually be dealt with in a more complete and satisfactory manner.

"I am, Sir,
"Your most obedient humble servant,
"ARTHUR OTWAY.
"Joseph Cooper, Esq."

ADDRESSES TO SENORES J. JULIO Z. DE VIZCARRONDO, EMILIO CASTELAR, AND OTHERS.

THE following are copies of addresses presented to the above and other eminent Spanish Abolitionists, in accordance with resolutions passed by the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society on Friday, July 1st, 1870:—

TO DON SENOR JULIO L. DE VIZCARRONDO.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society desire, by this Minute, to record their high appreciation of the efforts of Senor Don Julio L. de Vizcarrondo to promote the Abolition of Slavery in the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico. They consider that to those efforts is pre-eminently due the development of a healthy public sentiment in Spain, and in those colonies in favour of emancipation.

Through his instrumentality large popular meetings have been held in almost every town of importance in the peninsula; numerous petitions have been presented to the Cortes; the newspapers have been largely influenced; and the sympathies of the most distinguished orators in the Cortes have been enlisted.

The Committee would encourage Senor de Vizcarrondo still to cherish associations with those distinguished advocates who have demanded the immediate abolition of Slavery as the only measure consistent with justice, humanity, the best interests of the colonies, and the honour of the Spanish nation.

Signed,
On behalf of the Committee,
JOSEPH COOPER, }
EDMUND STURGE, } Hon. Secs.
ROBERT ALSOP, }

No. 27, New Broad Street, London, E.C.,
July 15, 1870.

TO SENORES EMILIO CASTELAR AND OTHERS.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society desire, by the present Minute to record their high appreciation of the eminent services rendered to the cause of Negro Emancipation by Senor Don Emilio Castelar, and the forty-seven members who supported his motion in favour of the immediate abolition of Slavery in the Spanish Antilles, as an amendment to the Government measure introduced by his Excellency the Minister for the Colonies.

To Senores Emilio Castelar, Fernando Garrido, Gabriel Rodriguez Pi y Margall, Garcia Lopez, Padial, Baldorioty, and Arbasuza, especially is the cause indebted for the eloquent

addresses they have so courageously delivered, from time to time, in defence of the principle of immediate and complete emancipation, as being the only sound basis upon which the question of the Abolition of Slavery can be discussed, and its definitive and satisfactory solution placed, in accordance with the rights of the enslaved, the demands of justice and humanity, the welfare of the colonies, and the honour of the Spanish nation.

In view of the special ministerial measure announced for presentation next session, this Committee would encourage those to whom this Minute is respectfully addressed, to persevere in asserting the right of the slave to immediate and complete freedom, and the injustice and impolicy of exposing him to the abuses and evils inseparable from any system of apprenticeship as a preparation for liberty.

This Minute is transmitted, with the warmest thanks of the Committee, in their own name, and on behalf of the friends of the cause in Great Britain.

Signed,
On behalf of the Committee,
JOSEPH COOPER, }
EDMUND STURGE, } Hon. Secs.
ROBERT ALSOP, }

No. 27, New Broad Street, London, E.C.,
July 15, 1870.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. THE FIFTEENTH CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

THE ratification of the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment, which enacts that "the rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude," took place on March 30th, 1870.

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at a meeting held on Friday, 6th May, resolved on forwarding a congratulatory Address thereon, to the President and People of the United States, through his Excellency the Hon. J. L. Motley, the American Minister.

The following is a copy of the Address, together with the President's reply:—

TO THE PRESIDENT AND PEOPLE OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

MR. PRESIDENT,—We the Members of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and other friends of freedom, with great respect for you, and for the high office you fill, congratulate you with sincere pleasure, and through you the whole nation, on the adoption, by the Legislature of the United States, of the 15th Amendment of the Constitution, by which all men, irrespective of race or colour, are henceforth equal in all respects before the laws of the land.

We honour you, and the great people over

whom you preside, for this noble assertion of the rights of man.

You have, under the Divine blessing, thus created an epoch in the History of Civilisation, which must contribute to the safety and benefit of all classes in your country, and which we trust will also have a beneficial influence in bringing about a more just and honourable course of conduct on the part of civilised governments and peoples towards the aboriginal inhabitants in every part of the world.

Now that Slavery, that shame of humanity, has disappeared from your midst, may we be permitted to express our earnest desire that no system of *unjust or forced immigration* may be allowed to take its place, and so to introduce any modification of the evil in the shape of privilege or caste.

In conclusion, we would unite with these cordial congratulations our desire and prayer that the Divine blessing may abundantly rest upon you, and upon all the inhabitants within your great Republic.

We are, with the highest respect and esteem,

Yours most truly,
(Signed by the Committee).

27, New Broad Street, London,
May, 1870.

REPLY.

Department of State,
Washington, 7th July, 1870.

To Messrs. Edmund Sturge, Joseph Cooper, and others, Members of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, No. 27, New Broad Street, London.

GENTLEMEN,—The President directs me to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 1st ultimo, congratulating himself and the people of the United States upon the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

It is gratifying to the President and to the people of this country to receive from the enlightened and progressive Society which you represent, their congratulations upon an event so important to the nation and to mankind.

They can never forget how faithfully your Association has advocated the great cause which has triumphed in that amendment, or the encouragement and sympathy which they have derived from its utterances; and they trust that the time is near when every land in which human bondage prevails will yield to the spirit of the age, and provide for the deliverance of the enslaved upon terms which will open to them opportunities of future happiness and prosperity.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

HAMILTON FISH.

BRITISH SETTLEMENTS ON THE GAMBIA.

At a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Committee, August 5, William Allen, Esq., in the chair, it was reported that, on an invitation from the Aborigines Protection Society, two members of the Committee had joined a deputation to present a memorial to Earl Kimberley, on his accession to the Colonial Office, strongly urging Government to set apart reserves of land for the natives of North Australia; to resist the introduction of Slavery into the Transvaal and Fiji, and to abandon the proposal to transfer the settlements on the Gambia to the French. In reference to this last question, it was stated, on behalf of the Anti-Slavery Committee, that, while concurring generally in the policy and obligation of maintaining the existing protectorate on the West Coast of Africa, our Committee were not in a position at present to assert that there might not be adequate reasons for relinquishing this unhealthy and costly outpost. Earl Kimberley stated, that in consequence of the altered position of the French Government, negotiations on this subject had been discontinued. The question of the Slave-trade in the Fijis was one of extraordinary difficulty. Her Majesty's Government, and also the Australian Governments, were taking the matter into very serious consideration.

SIR J. P. GRANT, G.C.B., GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA.

In our last number we inserted copies of the Address of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to Sir J. P. Grant, on the character and results of his rule as Governor of Jamaica, and of his Excellency's reply.

Since then other addresses have been presented, kindred in sentiment, although emanating from bodies entirely independent of each other; and previously to Sir John's departure from Jamaica, on leave of absence, no feature of the island newspapers was more gratifying than addresses of a similar kind, setting forth "the wisdom, the justice, the firmness," "the impartiality," "the courtesy to men of every class, without distinction of colour or race," "the zeal," "the moderation," "the self-abnegation," developed by him in the administration of the Government of Jamaica.

The addresses from which we have quoted the foregoing attributes are sober, earnest documents, for which we regret that we cannot find room in whole or in part.

That of the Committee of the Baptist

Missionary Society, bearing the signatures of the Treasurer, Joseph Tritton, Esq., and the Secretary, Dr. Underhill; and that of "The Annual Assembly of the Methodist Free Churches," signed by the President, the Rev. John Myers, and the Missionary Secretary, the Rev. S. S. Barton, are both excellent in tone and substance. But few will dissent from the opinion which we extract from the latter:—"If there be cause for regret, it is that changes so important to the peace, industry, and well-being of the population, had not been effected at the time of Negro Emancipation."

Equally significant in character were the proceedings at the dinner recently given to Sir J. P. Grant by the West India Proprietors—a body representing great material interests, inheriting many of the traditions of Slavery, and exercising great influence.

Sir John's replies to all the addresses are models of manly frankness and fine common sense. Every address to Sir John which we have seen refers to the contrast between his rule and that of his predecessor. Sir John, recognising the truthfulness of all that was stated as to the past deplorable condition of the island, said that "abuses were at the root of all the evils, which it was his mature conviction that no human ability could have coped with under the old constitution!"

Is it not almost high time to drop all needless and bitter references to that mournful period in the recent history of Jamaica, which did harm to society at home only secondarily to the evils inflicted on the island itself? The authors, actors, and victims of that tragedy cannot be forgotten, neither should they be thrust needlessly on public notice.

There seems to be but one desire among all disinterested and good men in relation to Jamaica, viz. that Sir John may providentially be spared to complete the work so auspiciously begun.

Would that our Colonial and Consular systems may be even more fully replenished with men after the Grant model. This wish has been quickened by a recent careful perusal of the Slave-Trade Papers for 1869 (from which we give lengthy extracts in other columns), and other blue-books on the same or related subjects:—India, China, Africa, Australia, Polynesia, &c.

It may be profitable, but it is not always pleasant, to notice the difference between the ability, diligence, and conscientiousness developed in the communications of some consular and other agents, and the conspicuous absence of one or more of these in those of some others.

It may be difficult uniformly to secure the services of fully competent consular and other agents; but this is most important in some places, especially in the face of the new forms of Slave-Trade which are growing up. When the right man is put in the right place, it is well to keep him there.

Frequent changes of Colonial Governors have done great mischief; but Sir John P. Grant's career is pleasant to contemplate, and his example will be a safe one to follow.

BRITISH GUIANA AND THE MAURITIUS.

THE Commission appointed to inquire into the treatment and condition of the Coolie population in Demerara has been much delayed in getting to work—first, by the inability of Mr. Cairns to accept Earl Granville's nomination; and secondly and principally, by the determined hostility of the planters to Mr. Mitchell, who had been selected by Earl Granville as another member of the Board. Earl Granville was so powerfully appealed to, that for a time he seemed to hesitate; but at length he added to the Board Mr. George Frere, who is a gentleman of great experience in kindred matters, still retaining the services of Mr. Mitchell. These gentlemen, then, in addition to Sir George Young, constitute the Board of Commissioners. The planters have engaged the services of Mr. T. H. Cowie, Advocate-General of Bengal, a gentleman of great ability and high character; while, on the part of the coolies, M. des Vœux will appear in support of his own weighty allegations, and Mr. Jenkins will represent the Aborigines and Anti-Slavery Societies. We believe that the arrangements have been quite completed, and that the inquiry, appointed early in March, has at length commenced. The sitting of the Commission has been looked forward to in the colony with great eagerness, as one "which has perhaps never been equalled, and certainly has never been surpassed, in local importance." This is the expressed opinion of a gentleman thoroughly well acquainted with the colony; but the subject of inquiry is one which touches vitally the whole question of the employment of coolie labour in all our colonies.

We shall rejoice to hear that the investigation is fairly and impartially conducted, so that some hope may be cherished that the whole system of coolie immigration will be either changed or abandoned, for it is a deplorable fact that abuses of a similar

kind to those complained of in British Guiana exist in several other of our colonies. In Mauritius, for instance, immigration is still so conducted that the inequality of the sexes leads to a terrible amount of vice and demoralisation.

It is high time that very great changes were made there, not only in the immigration system, but in many other respects. The law of marriage is complicated with forms which obstruct matrimony among the labouring classes—at all times too infrequent in Mauritius; and to encourage concubinage, which has always unhappily abounded in that colony. Indeed, the laws are in many respects altogether unsuited to the present populations of the island.

The old law, which gives a monopoly to notaries, is terribly burdensome and injurious, and ought to be promptly dealt with. Reforms are in some respects as much needed in Mauritius as they were in Jamaica previously to Sir J. P. Grant's accession to the governorship.

We trust that the Hon. Arthur Gordon, recently Governor of Trinidad, who is now in this country on his way to occupy a similar post in Mauritius, will effect great good for all parties. Of this we have great hopes; for we perceive that the Legislative Council of Trinidad, in a highly complimentary valedictory address to his Excellency, speak in strong and grateful terms of his ability and energy, and his fairness and impartiality, irrespective of creed and race.

A searching, full, and impartial inquiry into alleged abuses in British Guiana will operate beneficially throughout every other colony.

DEMERARA.

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY ON THE TREATMENT OF IMMIGRANTS.

(From *The Creole*, August 26.)

THE Commission of Inquiry was opened to-day. At twelve o'clock the Commissioners arrived at the Public Buildings, and took their seats on the judges' bench. A large number of spectators, comprising many of the leading citizens of Georgetown, had already assembled in the hall.

The Governor's Commission was read by the Secretary.

Mr. FRERE (President) said the Commission was now opened, and he proceeded to read the following statement:—

"The Commissioners are charged, according to the terms of the Commission you have just

heard read, to make inquiry into all matters and things whatsoever to which the statements made in Mr. Des Vœux's letter to her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies regarding the treatment of immigrants into this colony relate. We are instructed to make it of the fullest, most searching, and impartial character; and it will be our earnest endeavour to carry out those instructions. We intend, in the first place, to examine the nature and grounds of the charges brought forward in the letter which gave rise to this Commission. We shall also require the assistance and co-operation of Government officials in charge of or connected with the Immigration department, and of several others whose duties give them special means of knowledge. We shall naturally (and not only because we know it to be the desire of those in authority) take especial care, should evidence come before us involving imputations of any kind upon any persons or class of persons, to allow them the fullest opportunity of testing the accuracy of such evidence, and of giving or producing counter evidence in answer to such imputations.

"We invite all persons possessed of special information or experience in the subjects of inquiry to communicate, either in writing or in person, with our Secretary, stating the general scope and tendency of the evidence they proffer.

"It is our intention and wish that the inquiry should be an open one, and the publication or non-publication of the details in the public press must in general be left to the discretion of the gentlemen connected with it. We must, however, request the reporters who are permitted to be present and their employers to attend to any suggestions that they may receive, to omit from their reports matter of which in fairness to individuals it may appear expedient to defer or suppress the publication. We further desire it to be understood that, should the objects of the Commission in our opinion require it, we shall take evidence on any particular point, or from any particular person, in private.

"We are glad to find that persons taking an interest in the subject of this Commission have secured the assistance of able and learned counsel. It is our duty to conduct the inquiry ourselves, and personally to examine all witnesses, but we shall gladly pay attention to suggestions or requests from counsel or any other competent persons, not only in the examination of witnesses on any specific point, but in calling for and taking evidence to support or rebut anything that might be adduced before us."

Mr. COWIE said he might take an opportunity of stating that he appeared on that occasion to represent the interests of those whom he might call the employers of labourers. His immediate clients were the West India Committee in England, who represent the planters of this colony; and he was glad to take this, the earliest, opportunity of stating that he appeared, not

merely as an advocate, but that it was his object to give every assistance to the Commissioners in carrying out the inquiry, in terms of the Commission, either in the examination of witnesses or in suggesting questions to be put to witnesses. It would be his wish to have the inquiry as fully and completely carried out as possible.

Mr. JENKINS said he appeared on behalf of the Coolie labourers generally, and instructed by Messrs. R. and W. Smith of London, on behalf of the Aborigines Protection Society and the Anti-Slavery Society. His learned friend Mr. Cowie had explained his position, and he (Mr. Jenkins) might say this, that he occupied a similar position to that which Mr. Cowie occupied. He proposed to lend himself no more than Mr. Cowie did to the advocacy of any particular side. In addition to the instructions he had mentioned, he had received special instructions from between 1,000 and 1,100 Coolies to appear on their behalf. He would claim his right, if necessary, to call them, and ask the Commissioners to examine them as witnesses; but he thought it his duty, before taking any such course, to investigate into the probability of the charges they proposed to bring, so as to save as much as possible time and trouble to the Commissioners in investigating the matter. The Coolies came from nearly every estate in the colony, and he would be prepared to hand in a list of them either to-morrow or at the beginning of next week.

Mr. COWIE begged to ask the Commissioners a question. Was he to understand that all the questions to be put to the witnesses who were to be examined before the Commissioners were to be put through the Commissioners themselves?

Mr. FRERE replied, Yes; they must examine all the witnesses themselves. Suggestions might be made by counsel; but the Commissioners could not make it a question of examination and cross-examination as between two parties.

Mr. JENKINS presumed the same course would be pursued as before a Select Committee.

Mr. FRERE said, Yes; the same as in committees of Parliament. The Commission would now adjourn to ten o'clock to-morrow.

Mr. COWIE asked, Would the Commission begin taking evidence to-morrow?

Sir GEORGE YOUNG said they desired Mr. Des Vœux to be in attendance to-morrow. None of the other witnesses had been yet summoned.

[The proceedings are likely to be of good length; we hope to furnish the leading features in our next number.—
Ed. A.-S. R.]

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

July 5th.

ALLEGED BARBARITIES IN CUBA.

MR. OTWAY, replying to Mr. M'Laren, said the Government were informed that a resolution had been passed in the House of Representatives of the United States authorising the President to solicit the co-operation of other Governments in order to put a stop to the barbarities in Cuba, but no communication had been addressed by the Government of the United States to her Majesty's Government in consequence of that resolution.

August 5th.

DEMERARA COMMISSION.

MR. MORRISON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies why the opening of the Commission to inquire into the treatment of the coolies in the colony of Demerara had been postponed; whether it was true that the Judge-Advocate of Bengal had been retained by the planters as their counsel; and whether the Government approved a law officer of the Crown holding a brief for private parties in an inquiry of this nature?

Mr. MONSELL said the opening of the Commission had been postponed on account of difficulties as to its composition. It was now complete, and either was already or would be immediately at work. The Advocate-General of Bengal had been retained by the planters as their counsel, and her Majesty's Government, although they did not forbid him to act, to prevent any evil consequences from his doing so had desired the Governor of British Guiana to make known publicly that English law officers took briefs from private individuals, and that the Advocate-General in no way represented either the Imperial Government or the Government of India. An experienced Indian officer had been appointed a Commissioner, and he did not anticipate any evil consequences from the Advocate-General's position, but would take care to prevent any misapprehensions arising from it in the minds of the coolies.

COOLIES IN DEMERARA.—It is estimated that there are forty or fifty thousand coolies in Demerara. It is sometimes difficult to proceed in Courts of Justice for want of an interpreter.

THE PARIS ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE TO THE PEOPLE OF SPAIN.

THE following is a translation of an address presented to the people of Spain by the Committee of the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference, and signed by the President, and others, on their behalf. Although published late, it is not altogether untimely, as in our last number we published the "Law of Slavery Abolition as voted by the Spanish Cortes, June 22nd, 1870":—

"TO THE PEOPLE OF SPAIN. A FRIENDLY ADDRESS FROM THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE PARIS ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

"We, the undersigned, on behalf of the International Committee, appointed by the representatives of the Anti-Slavery Societies of France, Holland, England, and America, which met in conference in Paris in August, 1867, to promote the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade, cordially salute the people of Spain, and congratulate them upon their recent acquisition of civil and religious liberty.

"We, in common with all the true friends of progress, wish to see extirpated from the institutions of Spain every vestige of despotism and oppression, and all classes of her citizens secured in the enjoyment of perfect freedom.

"But amongst the last relics of barbarism which yet disfigure these institutions is the odious one of Slavery. Whilst this remains, Spain must sit under reproach, and be pointed at as guilty of the greatest of crimes, and unworthy of the liberties she has recently acquired. Condemned by the Roman Catholic Church as opposed to every precept of religion, to every principle of justice and humanity; condemned by universal opinion; condemned by its own disastrous results; absolutely without defence on moral, social, political, or economic grounds; condemned even by those who are nevertheless most reluctant to abandon it; condemned by you, people of Spain, as evidenced by your denunciations of it in public meetings, and by petitions to your representatives in the Cortes for its immediate abolition—this odious crime, this hideous outrage upon humanity, this blot upon the national escutcheon, surely cannot be suffered longer to exist upon Spanish territory.

"We have watched with gratification and hope the gradual development of the national sentiment in favour of the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba and Porto Rico, and we had confidently anticipated on the part of the Provisional Government

some act expressive of the popular aspirations, similar to the ever-memorable decree of the Provisional Government in France in 1848, at once abolishing Negro Slavery in the French colonies. But up to the present moment the course of your Government in relation to this question of emancipation has grievously disappointed the truest friends of Spain all over the world. They expected that your rulers—appointed by yourselves, and who therefore ought to be the exponents of your will—would long ago have proved their attachment to liberty by granting personal freedom to those unjustly deprived of it. Thus, upon you, people of Spain, fall the reproach and the shame of still tolerating an institution so odious as Slavery, making you a bye-word amongst nations for oppression, injustice, and wrong.

"It cannot have escaped observation either, that the disastrous insurrection now deluging Cuba with blood gathers strength from the very existence of a slave-population, which will assuredly rather make common cause with the party in arms against Spanish authority, but who have declared them free, than with those who do not hold out to them even the promise of liberty. This terrible suffusion of blood, this waste of the national resources, might have been spared if your Provisional Government had shown the moral courage of that of France, in 1848, and imitated its noble example. Thus is justice found to be in accordance with the soundest policy, as it is also bound up with the honour, the glory, and the true greatness of a nation.

"We salute you cordially and fraternally."

SLAVERY IN MADAGASCAR.

THE following is a copy of the reply of the Queen of Madagascar to the address forwarded to the Queen by the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference, 1869:—

"Antananarivo,

"8th February, 1870.

"Gentlemen,—I have received the memorial which you forwarded to her Majesty the Queen of Madagascar, under date August, 1869, and have laid it before her Majesty. In reply to which I beg to state that, with regard to the liberation of the slaves in Madagascar, it is a thing which is at present an utter impossibility, on account of the want of knowledge among the people. To make the attempt would revolutionise the country, and cause no end of bloodshed, and bring misery upon all the people.

"If you who have signed the memorial were acquainted with Madagascar, and had known its real condition, we should consider you very blameworthy for sending such a petition, as,

should the people hear of it, would be the cause of disturbance and much bloodshed. But as you were not so acquainted, but were animated by love towards mankind, we must overlook it. Nevertheless, your memorial has caused me some trouble, inasmuch as I dare not show it to the people or the members of the Government; for if they heard of it, although treaties have been made with other Sovereigns, they would break them. For although such an act might lead to their destruction, they would prefer that rather than consent. The Queen is sincerely attached to the Christian religion, but she cannot do impossibilities.

"But with regard to the slave-trade from the adjacent islands beyond the sea, we are now doing our utmost to prevent the landing of slaves on her Majesty's dominions; and should any of her Majesty's subjects be guilty of carrying on this wicked traffic, the Queen will be exceedingly displeased with them, and put them at once in heavy chains for breaking the treaty concluded with the Sovereigns of England and France, and the Government of the United States of America; and should people from other nations land with slaves, they shall be captured immediately, if discovered, and the slaves liberated. For when her Majesty has concluded a treaty with other nations, she will always feel herself bound to do all in her power to fulfil its stipulations.

"I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

"Your very respectful servant,

"RAINILAIARIVONY,

"Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief."

THE SLAVE-TRADE PAPERS—1869.

JUDGE CRAWFORD ON SLAVERY IN CUBA.

THE Slave-Trade Papers, which were issued unusually late this year, possess several features of interest. The annual report of Commissary Judge Crawford, dated Havana, September 30th, 1869, which we gave entire in our last number, does not enter into the causes, but presents various features of the intestine war in Cuba, and especially of the fearful atrocities committed by the Spaniards and the insurrectionists. After discussing certain contingencies, Mr. Crawford says, "Should the insurrection be quelled, the Spaniards will most probably maintain Slavery at all hazards, and a revival of the slave-trade is not at all unlikely." There had been no fresh importation of slaves from the coast of Africa during the previous twelve months. Mr. Crawford was fully convinced that "the insurgents did not declare the abolition of slavery from any profound conviction of justice, but as a political necessity, and for a political purpose." Mr. Crawford is evidently in favour of gradual emancipation, but says that "the bitter hatred which exists between Spaniard and Cuban will eventually lead to a solution of the difficulty."

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND SLAVERY IN CUBA.

On the 22nd November, 1869, Lord Clarendon forwarded to the Spanish Government, through Mr. French, a memorial, which had been forwarded to him by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, calling attention to the importance of immediate emancipation taking place in Cuba, and urging that, by treaty, Great Britain had a right to demand the immediate emancipation of all the slaves in Cuba. Mr. Layard, in reply, called attention to the fact that Senor Becerra had stated in the Cortes, that the solution of the grave questions bound up with emancipation must be dealt with prudently, and in conformity with practice, but that the Government would attack the problem with energy.

PORTUGUESE DECREE OF ABOLITION VERY IMPERFECT.

As to the decree of the Portuguese Government abolishing Slavery—which we also gave in our last number—the late Earl of Clarendon, founding his conclusions on an exceedingly able communication from Mr. Tredenbergh, commissioner of the late Mixed Commission Court at Loanda, declared his strong fear that the decree would turn out to be one of practical inutility, only changing the name of slave into that of "liberto," whose ten years' service, owing to the absence of system, want of roads, the utter administrative disorganisation and immorality, and the facility with which a "liberto" can be withdrawn from the operation of the law, will practically become, in the great majority of cases, forced and unremunerated labour for life.

ABOLITION OF MIXED COMMISSION COURTS.

It appears that the Lukoja Consulate in the Niger district is abolished, the Government property has been sold, and the archives have been transferred to Lagos; and what is of more importance, owing to the suppression of the slave-trade on the West Coast of Africa, the Earl of Clarendon announced that, as soon as the necessary preliminary arrangements were completed, the Mixed Commission Courts at the Cape of Good Hope, Loanda, and New York would be done away. No case had been before either of them during the whole year.

Commissioner Layard had, before reporting as above, informed the Earl of Clarendon that although the British men-of-war attached to the South African Mixed Commission station had not been cruising, as in past years, in the active pursuit of slaving-vessels, a dhow, said to have been equipped for the slave-trade, and freighted with 500 barrels of gunpowder, had been captured by H.M. ship *Petrel*, in one of her visits to the East Coast, and was condemned in the Vice-Admiralty Court.

SLAVERY IN THE TRANSVAAL REPUBLIC.

Mr. Layard finishes his dispatch with this significant paragraph: "I still continue to receive accounts of slavery being carried on in the

Transvaal Republic, where the life, liberty, and property of a native is apparently looked upon as entirely at the disposal of any white man who chooses to appropriate it."

THE "DAPHNE" CARRYING "NIGGERS."

Mr. Layard enclosed with the dispatch from which the above is quoted an extract from the *Standard and Mail* of October 12th, stating that it had been reported to them, by Portuguese officers belonging to the *Infanta Don Juan*, that the commander of the *Daphne*, cruising between the Mozambique and Seychelles, had been guilty of carrying a lot of "niggers" on several occasions—three times distinctly known.

WATCHFULNESS NEEDED.

As to these Mixed Commission Courts, we last year pointed out that they were of no practical utility. Our consuls at the points named will doubtless still keep a wholesome watch.

Commodore Dowell, of the West Coast African squadron, reports from the *Rattlesnake* at sea, February 7th, 1869, that no attempt had been made during the previous year to revive the slave-trade in any part of the station under his command; that those who had been engaged in it were profitably pursuing legitimate trade; and especially was Lagos thriving.

REDUCTION OF NAVAL FORCE ON THE WEST COAST.

At conferences held at the Admiralty on the 9th and 30th October, 1869, it was agreed that the naval force at present employed on the West Coast of Africa, viz. five cruisers and a small vessel for river service, besides stationary and store ships, would be sufficient for the protection of legitimate trade, and for the maintenance of a certain supervision on the coast, not amounting to a blockade, to prevent the revival of the slave-trade.

GOOD NEWS FROM SIERRA LEONE.

A short gratifying dispatch from Acting-Judge Smith to the Earl of Clarendon, dated Sierra Leone, September 30th, 1869, after speaking of the absence of any known slave-trade to the north or south of that settlement, quotes circumstances which would, he thinks, render the traffic in slaves in that locality impracticable.

PREVALENCE OF SLAVE-TRADE ON THE EAST COAST OF AFRICA.

The Blue-book on the EAST COAST OF AFRICA is of exciting and mournful interest. Here "nearly every native vessel engages in slave-traffic if a favourable opportunity offers for doing so." It was asserted credibly that a large number of these sailed under the French flag; that these vessels were found by Captain Meara, of the *Nymphe*, to have increased tenfold within a year; and he was of opinion that, "if the system of sailing under French colours existed much longer, the efforts of the British cruisers for the suppression of the slave-trade between Zanzibar and Mada-

gascar would be fruitless." Lord Clarendon remonstrated with the French Government on this subject. It seems that the Governors of Mayotta and Nossi Ben had signed the papers of the commanders of Arab dhows; and a letter from Sultan Majid stated that, "in order to avoid being searched by English cruisers, his vessels were all leaving their proper national colours, and placing themselves under the flag of France."

NORTH-EAST AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE TO EGYPT, ARABIA, &c.

There is a profoundly interesting paper, by Dr. Wilhelm Schimpfer, a Baden naturalist, on the North-East African Slave-trade to Egypt and Arabia, forwarded to the British Government by the Grand Duke of Baden through Baron Freydorf, Mr. E. W. Cope, British Attaché, and Mr. Gordon, British Minister at Baden. Dr. Schimpfer's motives are of the highest kind. It seems that Abyssinian children, Gallas, and Negroes, are the victims of the slave-traders referred to by him. The Turkish Governors on the frontier secretly support this traffic. Dedschasmadsch Kassai, Regent of Tigré, one of the three principal states of Abyssinia, sent a letter to our Queen, in which he expresses his determination to abolish the slave-trade, and with this view prays the help of the English officials, and particularly that of Mr. Memzinger, H.M. Vice-Consul at Massowah. The Doctor's details are very specific, informing, and suggestive. He says that "in Khar-toom the sale of slaves is encouraged by some ill-conditioned, avaricious Europeans, and in Matemma there is to be found actually a European who deals in slaves." "For some years the open trade has visibly decreased because the guards are placed on the frontier by order of the English consulate." It seems that the late Emperor Theodore "feigned to forbid the sale of slaves to deceive England." There is a great demand for Galla Abyssinian slaves in Arabia, yet the actual Arabians do not keep slaves. "They are only to be found in Mecca, Tayz, and the neighbourhood, and in the seaport towns where there is a confluence of many different nationalities of Islam." "In Read, however, the residence of the Amir, where equally the population is partly mixed with Persian, there are female Circassian slaves, also several white men as slaves, but few Negroes or Arabians." To abolish the slave-trade entirely in Abyssinia will be a great undertaking; on the Red Sea this contraband and criminal trade enriches the Turkish Governors. "To put a stop to the export of slaves on the African coast, it would be necessary to establish a blockade from Babel Mandel to Cossair, but it would be much less difficult to keep a watch over the import of slaves on the Arabian coast in order to stop the sale. If the buyers disappear, the sellers will soon follow." This document is dated "Adoa [Tigré], August 25th, 1868," and is acknowledged by Lord Clarendon, April 27th, 1869. He returns thanks for "so interesting a paper."

DR. LIVINGSTONE AND SLAVE-TRADERS.

This is succeeded by two letters from Dr. Livingstone. In the first, addressed to Lord Clarendon, dated near Lake Bangweolo, South Central Africa, July, 1868, and received by Lord Clarendon November 6th, 1869, the Doctor speaks of coming on the track "of the Portuguese, who always enquired for ivory and slaves." In the second, addressed to Dr. Kirk, dated Ujiji, May 30th, 1869, he says that "the Ujijians, like the Kelwah traders, are haters of the English. That they carry on slaving in a series of forays, and that they dread exposure by his letters."

MADAGASCAR AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The slave-trade is still common in Madagascar. Consul Pakenham, at the end of 1868, seriously remonstrated with the Hova Government on the landing and sale of 400 Mozambique slaves at Menabe, on the West Coast. He regrets that that abominable traffic, the slave-trade, is carried on in dhows, without being in any way molested by the Malagasy authorities. Within less than one month six of these dhows were captured off the coast of Madagascar, by her Majesty's cruisers, but they had chiefly landed their slaves, and nearly 700 slaves were unaccounted for. Mr. Pakenham most energetically protested against this infraction of the Treaty of 1865, and in this was strongly seconded by Lord Clarendon. 194 Mozambiques in two dhows, captured through the Governor of Mojanga, were subsequently given up by order of the Queen, but fifteen died of starvation. There was much subsequent contention respecting these dhows and slaves—Commander Meara being found fault with by the Hova authorities. It was evident that the latter are quite disposed to connive at the slave-trade.

PROTESTS OF THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR.

The correspondence respecting Zanzibar is extensive, and has some interesting features. The Sultan protests bitterly, in a letter to Mr. Churchill, her Majesty's Consul, dated December, 1868, against the frequent capture of dhows on "mere suspicion" of being engaged in the slave-trade. His Highness adds, "If this state of things is to last much longer, there can be no doubt that every Arab dhow will necessarily be placed under French protection." Mr. Churchill, in reply, unmistakably proved that of 15 dhows captured off Brava by H. M. ship *Daphne*, to which captures the Sultan pointedly referred, three ran ashore, and their cargoes, consisting of slaves, were driven inland and escaped, while the remaining twelve had slaves on board. Mr. Churchill, in a letter to the Acting Chief Secretary, Bombay, speaks of the difficulty of distinguishing between domestic slavery and the real slave-trade at Zanzibar. He had, however, informed the Kutchees, natives of India, who had placed themselves under the Sultan's protection, that they would no longer be permitted to purchase or sell slaves. These steps alarmed the Sultan, who, in a conversation

with Mr. Churchill, expressed in strong terms his misgivings as to the friendly feelings of his subjects towards himself and the Europeans, because of the prevailing belief that her Majesty's Government would, sooner or later, end in forcing his Highness to sanction the abolition of domestic slavery in his dominions, an event which would, said the Sultan, bring about the total ruin of the country. Mr. Churchill believed that these fears of the Sultan were simulated, or at least groundless, and were intended to throw difficulties in the consul's way as to cruising against slave-dhows. Subsequent instructions compelled a modification of Mr. Churchill's policy, still reserving to the agency the right to interfere in the event of the Sultan being remiss in carrying out his treaty engagements, and closing the door upon future arrivals from India being protected by the Sultan—this latter point being the most objected to by the Zanzibar Government, the Indian element in the population being not inconsiderable. The Sultan bitterly complained of Mr. Churchill, who enforced his policy by imprisoning an Indian who had attempted to sell one of his slaves, but afterwards submitted, as far as Indians from British provinces are concerned, subject to an appeal to the Bombay Government.

DOMESTIC SLAVERY.—ENORMOUS GAINS OF SLAVE-TRADERS.

Mr. Churchill, in a letter dated Zanzibar, March 1st, 1869, expresses the opinion that so long as domestic slavery is allowed to flourish, the slave-trade will exist; and that in no Mahometan state with which her Majesty's Government is in friendly relations should slavery be tolerated, alliance with England being worth the sacrifice, and that until serious measures are taken, as well in the Persian Gulf as elsewhere, to punish the individuals who engage in the traffic, it will continue its course unaffected by our efforts to ameliorate it. The Sultan of Zanzibar had written the Chief of the Beni Yaa's tribe, whose head-quarters are at Abu Phabbir, on the Persian Gulf, to the effect that the latter should warn the northern Arabs from going to Zanzibar to engage in the slave-trade; but the Sheikh replied that the "gains from the slave-trade were so enormous, that it was hopeless to think of stopping them, for that with ten baskets' worth of dates that a man gets on credit, he can get twenty slaves at Zanzibar worth 1,000 dollars."

THE SULTAN ENCOURAGES KUTCH SLAVE-TRADERS.

Dr. Kirk, in a letter dated Zanzibar, April 22nd, 1869, fully confirms Mr. Churchill and the Sheikh's statements. He says: "The northern slave-trade is far from being suppressed, and that the means now adopted are quite insufficient to check it effectually. It seems that the Sultan has to do two things—to keep the good opinion of the English, and to keep a good name among the people of Oman." Yet later, August 16th, Dr. Kirk shows how the Sultan of Zanzibar, favouring

the Kutch slave-traders, by inducing them not to register at the English Agency (during the past four years registration at the British Agency had become almost unknown), secured every new arrival from Kutch to himself, and how this nefarious arrangement was negated, at least for the future, by the Rao of Kutch issuing a proclamation forbidding his subjects in Zanzibar from engaging in the slave-trade on pain of liberating all their slaves without compensation.

TWENTY-SEVEN SLAVE-VESSELS CONDEMNED AT ZANZIBAR.

It seems a fact, that within the last six months of the year 1868, no less than 27 slave-vessels were condemned by the British Consul at Zanzibar, and induced our Government to bring in a bill last year, which was passed, entitled, "The Slave-Trade Jurisdiction (Zanzibar) Act, 1869," the second section of which provides that her Majesty's Consul "shall have, and shall be deemed to have always since the commencement of the said Order in Council (9th August, 1866) had," all such jurisdiction as ordinarily belongs to Vice-Admiralty Courts over Zanzibar vessels captured, whether within or beyond the dominions of Zanzibar, and over vessels name and nation unknown; and the fourth section provides that the Act "shall apply to all cases of vessels captured on suspicion of being engaged in or equipped for the slave-trade, and adjudicated upon by her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar, whether before or after the passing of this Act." These powers are obviously most necessary.

"TRADE IN ABYSSINIAN, GEORGIAN, AND OTHER WHITE SLAVES."

In a letter dated September 21st, 1870, Dr. Kirk states that "the trade in Abyssinian, Georgian, and other white slaves is on the increase. Abyssinians and Georgians are employed in positions of the highest confidence in the houses and harems of the wealthy, but the white slaves do not rise to any such post of honour; they are to be seen about the doors of a few, and, rumour has it, are used for the vilest purposes to which his Highness is said to be addicted. He has, at all events, several of these miserable creatures about his house, and thus sets an example which others follow." When remonstrated with by Dr. Kirk, as to a white slave-boy, twelve years old, who had been purchased at Mecca, he replied, "that he and his people had full licence to import white and even Christian slaves into Zanzibar, that no treaty had ever been signed, and that this being the case he declined to open the question." Dr. Kirk referred this matter to Lord Clarendon, who, in reply, writes thus: "I have to inform you that the Duke of Argyll concurs with me in thinking that the importation of slaves purchased at Mecca, and conveyed to Zanzibar as domestic servants, does not constitute a violation of the Slave-Trade Treaty with the Sultan, as you appear to suppose."

PROPOSAL TO DOUBLE OR TREBLE OUR SQUADRON ON THE EAST COAST.

The reports from naval officers on the East Coast of Africa Station are painfully interesting. The *Star*, Commander De Kantzow, had reached Aden, December 17th, 1869, having liberated 134 slaves, and captured 23 dhows fitted for the slave-trade. Commodore Sir L. Heath reports that "the expeditionary force had captured 66 dhows, and liberated 1,097 slaves: that he has, however, no hope that the blows dealt at the slave-trade will check it for the future; that it is far too profitable, and the risks are too small, to admit of such a hope; that we must double or treble our squadron to ensure success, and establish vice-consulates at the ports of export; but, above all, force the Government of Zanzibar into active acquiescence in our views, and, if necessary, purchase or take possession of that island." He shows how slaves are starved in *transitu*, supposes that only "5 per cent. of the slaves exported are liberated at the expense of drowning some hundreds a year and of discouraging legitimate commerce," and adds, "we should withdraw from the attempt, or make it with far greater vigour."

DISHEARTENING OFFICIAL INSTRUCTIONS.

In a letter, dated at sea, April 9th, 1869, Commodore Sir L. Heath, referring to the opinion of the Advocate-General, that "it was essential that a captain should prove that the slaves on board a captured vessel were there for the purpose of slave-trade, and that their being in the state of slavery, and therefore liable to possible sale, was not sufficient to warrant the capture of a dhow," states that "this interpretation of the treaties with the Sultan of Zanzibar will, if upheld, strike a severe blow at our efforts to put down the slave-trade." Major-General Russell, the political agent at Aden, in support of the doctrine laid down by the Advocate-General, instances a case in which six domestic slaves were on board a dhow captured, which had, besides, 19 in crew, her principal object being legitimate trade; and that this dhow was, therefore, not of a character to be captured and destroyed.

DANGER OF LEGALISING THE SLAVE-TRADE.

In reference to the letter from which this extract is taken, Commodore Sir L. Heath says that, "if these doctrines are carried out, and rules are relaxed accordingly, the effect would be gradually to legalise the slave-trade." He is of opinion that "many individuals of high standing in Zanzibar are interested in the slave-trade, and that almost every large Zanzibar dhow trading to the south carries slaves to Madagascar."

A copy of instructions for the guidance of naval officers engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade, dated Admiralty, November 6th, 1869, is given at page 94, in which it is insisted that "the slave-trade must be carefully distinguished from slavery;" and that the mere finding of slaves on board a vessel

will not justify an officer in detaining her, especially if very few in number, unconfined, and who appear to be on board for the purpose of loading or working the ship, or attending on the master or passengers, and there is no other evidence that the vessel is engaged in or equipped for the trade; but otherwise, when slaves are found crowded and chained together. These articles appear to us to be exceedingly stringent on those engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade, and as likely to give facilities for lying, fraud, and success on the part of slave-traders. Commander Sullivan states that the most atrocious cruelties are practised on slaves in the island of Mozambique.

REPORTED OFFICIAL TYRANNY TOWARDS THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL.

The Slave-Trade Papers, Class C.—As far as Brazil is concerned, Mr. Buckley Mathew says it was currently reported in Rio that the Emperor was silent on emancipation in his speech at the opening of the Brazilian Chambers, from a threat held out by the ministry that if he were to refer to it they would resign; that his views in its favour are well known, and that the ministry are notoriously opposed to the liberation of the slaves. That a decree was passed by the Brazilian Legislature on the 20th September, 1869, forbidding the public auction of slaves, and the separation, by sale, of husband and wife, and of parents and children under fifteen years of age. The Government expressed great satisfaction on account of the repeal of the Aberdeen Act. Consular testimony generally is to the effect that the price of slaves had increased; and the general sentiment against Slavery was increasing in strength—a fact with the communication of which Lord Clarendon expressed satisfaction.

TURCO-EGYPTIAN SLAVE-TRADE.

We lament to learn that the Eastern slave-trade is active. In a letter from Consul Cumberbatch, dated Smyrna, June 8th, 1869, it is stated that about sixty black slaves, males and females, from eight years old to ten, had arrived there on the 4th of that month, bound to Constantinople in the *Tantah*, belonging to the Azizieh Company, nearly every one of whose steamers conveys slaves, and yet this company is so directly under the control of the Viceroy, that it is difficult to suppose that his Highness is not aware of it. Colonel Stanton says that there is little hope of this traffic being suppressed so long as the Egyptian authorities close their eyes to the manner in which the slave-dealers evade the law by giving false manumission papers to the slaves exported from that country. Lord Clarendon directed Mr. Elliott to urge most strongly the Government of the Porte to take measures for the repression of this traffic; yet expressing his view that it was to the Egyptian Government that her Majesty's Government must look for to take efficient measures to stop this clandestine slave-traffic by the Azizieh Company. His Lordship directed Consul Stanley to do what he

could to thwart the designs of the slave-dealers. Mr. Stanley, in reply, says he has not the slightest doubt that the authorities are perfectly aware of the traffic carried on by the Azizieh steamers, and could stop it in a day if they were sincerely desirous to do so. The consul subsequently reported that he had brought the subject before the Viceroy, who admitted that it was easy to stop the trade, and promised that it should be immediately done, but complained that white slaves were shipped from Constantinople for Egypt; that he had some correspondence on the matter with the Porte, and had freed and given in marriage about 300 of these, who were unwilling to return to Constantinople. On this Lord Clarendon informed Mr. Stanley that he had instructed her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople to call the attention of the authorities to the statement of the Viceroy, and said he should at the same time be glad to learn from Mr. Stanley what he knew of the traffic, and to what extent it was carried on.

THE TURKISH AND EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENTS.

Mr. Spring Rice, writing from the Foreign Office, September 3rd, informed Mr. Stanley, enclosing a letter to that effect, that the Grand Vizier stated that correspondence had already passed between the Turkish and Egyptian Governments respecting the shipment of white slaves from Turkey for Egypt, of which shipment the Viceroy complained, and that the slaves were alleged by Ali Pasha to be exported almost entirely for the Viceroy's own use.

EARL CLARENDON'S OPINIONS AND INQUIRIES.

In communication with Mr. Elliott, Lord Clarendon informed him that the Viceroy had promised to put a stop to the Azizieh Company's slave-traffic, and urging his Excellency to call the attention of the Porte to this matter, with an expression of the earnest hope of her Majesty's Government that effective measures would be taken to enforce the firmans which forbid this traffic. On the same date, August 31st, his Lordship wrote to the various British Consuls in Turkey and Egypt, stating that "as this traffic could not exist without the acquiescence and connivance of the Turkish and Egyptian authorities, he would be glad to learn from them whether any slave-traffic was carried on within their consular jurisdictions, or whether the firmans of the Sultan for the suppression of the traffic were carried out in good faith."

HIGH DIGNITARIES OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE ARE SLAVE-TRADERS.

Colonel Stanton reported to Lord Clarendon that he had mentioned to the Khedive the substance of what Ali Pasha had stated, that his Highness did not attempt to deny that numbers of white slaves are employed in his own and in the harems of members of his family, but that the traffic in white slaves was principally carried on in Constantinople; that in Egypt such traffic did not exist, that this traffic was carried on by the high digni-

taries of the Turkish empire, that at least 80 per cent. of the pashas, &c. made money by purchasing and reselling white slaves, that he himself had bought slaves from the present Grand Vizier, Ali Pasha, and that to put an end to this traffic it would be necessary to take measures at Constantinople, where the trade was in reality carried on.

SLAVE-TRAFFIC BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE AND BAGDAD.

On the 8th October the Earl of Clarendon forwarded to Colonel Stanton, through Mr. Spring Rice, a dispatch from Mr. Cumberbatch, Consul at Smyrna, showing that a regular system of traffic in slaves, between Constantinople and Bagdad, was organised at Alexandria, and requesting that inquiries might be made into the matter. No satisfactory evidence seemed procurable on this point, but it was not disputed.

TURKEY AND EGYPT DEEPLY INVOLVED.

There is no doubt whatever that, notwithstanding promises given by the Porte and the Viceroy, the traffic in black and white slaves, both for Turkey and Egypt, is very extensively, but to a considerable extent clandestinely, carried on with the acquiescence and connivance of the authorities. Many manumissions had taken place, but Mr. Elliott is of opinion that, while in Turkey the Grand Vizier, and perhaps some others among the higher officials, are desirous that the trade should cease, they would, he believed, be very little disposed to enter into a convention with her Majesty's Government for its suppression, and that it would not, in his opinion, be wise to propose it.

GENERAL CONCLUSION.

We have risen from a careful perusal of these Blue-books with the deepened conviction that, while admiring the intelligence, wisdom, resolution, and fidelity of Earl Clarendon, as evinced in his communications with Portugal, our consuls and others in Spain, Turkey, Egypt, Brazil, Zanzibar, &c., it will be needful for every lover of liberty to keep sleepless watch, and to combine all over the world, for the deliverance of the bondmen.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS

RECEIVED SINCE OUR LAST.

	£	s.	d.
Hume, Rev. James, Mount Hermon and Jericho, Jamaica (don.)	5	0	0
Tregelles, Mr. E. O., Gatehead, Co. Durham . . . (sub.)	0	5	0
Wallbridge, Rev. E. A., Smith's Church, Demerara (don.)	2	0	0
Crowley, Frederick, Alton . (sub.)	1	1	0

THE FREEDMEN OF AMERICA.

THE EDUCATION OF THE FREEDMEN.

THE following is a copy of a circular which has recently been issued to secretaries of the various societies engaged in the education of the freedmen :—

FREEDMEN OF AMERICA.

WAR DEPARTMENT,

Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.

OFFICE GENERAL Supt. EDUCATION,
WASHINGTON, August 15, 1870.

DEAR SIR,—The rental arrangement, by which this Bureau has been aiding benevolent organisations in sustaining schools, expired on the 1st of July last. As Congress failed to make an appropriation for the continuance of the work, the arrangement, I regret to say, cannot be renewed the coming term. It is hoped the societies will make all possible appeals to their patrons, and put forth the most vigorous efforts, at least to prevent the schools in the South from decreasing.

Very respectfully yours, &c.,

J. N. ALVORD, *Gen. Supt. Ed.*

GENERAL O. O. HOWARD.

DURING the war, General Howard won a marked reputation as a Christian officer. He was called the Havelock of the American Army.

It was probably for this reason that he was called to be the head of the Freedmen's Bureau. Perhaps no part of the civil or military service was more difficult and delicate than the management of this Bureau. It was a new thing; there were no precedents, and the law of Congress creating it was necessarily brief and general. Large discretion was left to the Commissioner. He had to deal with interested parties of both races, white and black. He was regarded with jealousy at the North, and with undisguised hostility at the South.

In such an untried path some missteps might have been expected; under such keen and embittered watching much fault-finding is not strange. The recent investigation before a Committee of Congress was perhaps due to all concerned, but we have reason to think it was largely instigated by personal and party hatred. The foes of General Howard undoubtedly hoped to tear from him the robes of Christian character, and reveal a hypocrite. But the result, as we always confidently expected, is only to

unveil the statue, and reveal the white and solid marble of genuine Christian and official integrity.—*American Missionary*, August.

THE AMERICAN LABOUR MARKET, THE NEGRO, AND THE COOLIE.

At a "National Labour Congress," composed of delegates from various Trades Unions of American working men, August 19, the formation of a "National Labour Reform Party" was agreed upon.

During the discussion, Mr. Myers, a Negro delegate from Baltimore, made a speech in which he asserted that the Democratic party had its emissaries on the floor of the Congress. This caused great excitement, and violent demands were made for Myers's expulsion. Myers refused to withdraw the assertion or to mention names, and several delegates declared his remarks to be insulting. A delegate from Kentucky said he had suppressed his prejudices and come to the Congress, but would not be insulted by one of a class that could be nothing else than hevers of wood and drawers of water. (*Hisses and excitement.*) He had come to help in forming a new political movement, and would never appear again in the Congress unless this object were accomplished. A delegate from Syracuse, New York, said he had suppressed all his prejudices, including those against the Negroes, and had extended his hand to them to make common cause against the corruptions of the party in power.

On August 20th, a report from a Committee on Coolie Labour was considered, which opposed the importation and present system of immigration of coolie labour into the United States. There was a discussion, in which Mr. Trevillick said that, in all the islands of the Pacific Ocean to which the Chinese have migrated, he had never heard of one becoming a citizen: the marriage tie was not observed, and the most shocking immorality prevailed among them. Mr. Whitney, of Chicago, said if the ballot did not stop this evil, the bullet must. Mr. McLean defended the right of free immigration, and denied the charge of Chinese immorality. Mr. Maguire, of St. Louis, said war to the knife against the Chinese was not in accordance with American principles; the real remedy was in adopting his discovery that every citizen inherited a sufficiency of the soil. If Chinese immigration made it impossible for a shoemaker to live by his trade, let him go to his inheritance of soil, which cannot be taken from him, and there, by his own labour on his own soil, earn an independent living. Mr. Coffin wanted coolie importation prevented, but not free immigration. Resolutions opposing coolie importations were adopted.—*New York Weekly Tribune*.

THE CHINESE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the United States the working people continue to enter their protests against the immigration of Chinamen, and they are careful in all quarters to catechise candidates for office, especially for Congress, on the subject; the answers returned being usually against coolie importations. There was a large meeting of working men in Philadelphia on the evening of August 26th, which protested against Chinese immigration; and among the speeches made, was one by General William B. Thomas, a candidate for Congress. In California there was last week an "Anti-Chinese" Convention in session, which denounced the importation of coolies, but disapproved all acts of violence to the Chinese, and demanded the abrogation of the Burlingame Treaty between the United States and China. Opposition to Chinamen is the chief article in the political creed of California just now. At Saratoga, New York, the coloured labourers of the State have been holding a convention, at which they gave their adhesion to the Republican party in the approaching campaign, and opposed the efforts made at the recent "Labour Congress" in Cincinnati, to start a National Labour Party.—*Times*, Sept. 14.

THE AMERICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND THE FREEDMEN.

THE influence of American Slavery on the Christian Churches of that land was fearful in perpetuating evil of almost every kind; and in preventing the growth and diffusion of whatever was good.

The destruction of Slavery has, on the other hand, proved an unspeakable blessing, opening "the long-closed South" to every benign Christian and philanthropic enterprise, the results of which are destined more and more in every way to enrich and adorn the mighty Republic, and through her the whole world.

The following extract, which conveys its own moral, is taken from the address of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, 1868, to the British Wesleyan Conference, 1870:—

"The success of the general government in overthrowing a rebellion inaugurated to perpetuate American Slavery, and, in that success, for ever abolishing Slavery wherever the authority of the United States prevails, opened the long-closed South to our Church. There are now included within that territory nine Annual Conferences, three hundred and seventy-three travelling preachers, and ninety thousand and seventy-one members. If we add the enlargement of our work in Kentucky, Missouri, and Arkansas, our increase, on what was slave territory prior to the rebellion, is five hundred and fifty travelling preachers, and one hundred

and seventeen thousand two hundred and ninety-six members. Two Conferences of coloured ministers have been organised since our last session, that now report one hundred and one ministers, and twenty-six thousand four hundred and eighty-seven members. Delegates from these two conferences have been received into our General Conference, with all the rights and privileges of delegates of other annual conferences. In fact, so far has the spirit of caste been driven from our beloved Zion, that colour is no embarrassment to admission into any of our conferences. For this we most humbly and devoutly thank God. The overthrow of slavery placed the freedmen of the South within the reach of education. Our Church has organised a Freedman's-Aid Society, and through it we are endeavouring to fulfil our part of the duty of educating them. At present we have in the field seventy-two teachers, giving instruction to about seven thousand pupils. We trust that we shall not be unfaithful in the opportunity thus offered of paying at least the interest due to these freedmen for the unpaid labour of themselves and their ancestors—doubly due to them, for they are our brethren for whom Christ died. We are pleased to tell you, that God is giving success to our efforts. The fruit of our toil appears ere the blossom dies. Some, who were slaves when the rebellion commenced, are now honoured ministers; others are in our Biblical Institute, preparing for the ministry; and thousands more are in our Churches, happy in God, industrious and frugal in their habits, rapidly being fully qualified to perform the duties of American citizenship, which has been so suddenly and strangely conferred upon them."

OUR COLLEGE RECORD.—Straight University, New Orleans, President, Rev. J. W. Healey, M.A., has 874 pupils, of whom 60 are in the Normal Department. Hundreds of young men and women, of rare talent, are waiting for the means of education. Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., President, Rev. John Ogden, M.A., has 300 students—120 in the Normal and High School—of whom three-fourths are preparing for teaching. Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga., President, E. A. Ware, M.A., has 89 students, needs furniture and bedding. Hampton (Va.) Normal and Agricultural Institute, Principal, Gen. S. C. Armstrong, has 75 students; and more than 50 applicants have been rejected for want of room.—*American Missionary*.

THE FREED-PEOPLE—EDUCATION.—The American Freedmen's Union Commission, with Francis George Shaw, Esq., chairman; Mrs. J. S. Lowell, Secretary; and Miss Ellen Collins, Treasurer, has 55 teachers—42 of whom are coloured—14 of the latter are natives of the South. The largest number of pupils under instruction at one time was 2,377, with an average

attendance of 1,909—about 44 pupils to each teacher.

NATIONAL LABOUR BUREAU.—A meeting of the National Labour Bureau of Coloured Men was held on Wednesday evening, July 20th, at Washington. Plans for the more effectual organisation of coloured labour were adopted. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Bureau:—Resolved, That the sympathies of the National Labour Bureau are with all working men in their opposition to the introduction of contract labour into the United States. Resolved, That we regard the coolie contract system as detrimental to the interest of the working men of this country, anti-American in its spirit, and fruitful of dangerous results. Resolved, That we endorse the resolutions introduced into the House of Representatives by the Hon. Henry L. Cake, on the 9th instant, to prohibit, by law, the coolie contract system; and we earnestly recommend the passage of these resolutions by both Houses of Congress before the adjournment of the present session. Resolved, That the above expression must not be understood as endorsing the proscribing because of race or colour of any class of men who in good faith shall desire to share with us, as freemen, the blessings of our favoured country.

THE NEW ERA AND FREDERICK DOUGLASS.—Frederick Douglass writes to the Boston Lyceum Bureau to cancel all engagements made for him, as he has accepted the editorship of the *New Era*, and retires from lecturing. He is very popular with New England Lyceums.—*Boston Manuscript*.

THE REV. SELLA MARTIN.—Rev. J. Sella Martin, a coloured preacher, who was appointed a special postal agent and assigned to duty in the South, complains to the Post Office Department that he was recently ejected from a mail train between Mobile and Montgomery, Ala., solely on account of his colour, and that he thereby lost track of a mail depredator whose arrest he was seeking. The result is a suit against the railroad company for 10,000 dols. damages, for obstructing a United States officer in the discharge of his duty.—*New York World*.

DANGERS OF THE SOUTH.—It is worse than useless for Northern people to go South except in colonies. No Southern woman will ever visit or recognise his wife or daughters. No good school will be found for his children, no congenial church for himself and household. The funds of the Freedmen's Bureau are so far exhausted that the Commissioner declines any further aid for common schools.—*American Paper*.

NEGRO ASPIRATION.—The negro residents of Indianopolis, it is said, have peti-

tioned to have German taught in the public schools.

INSURANCE COMPANIES AND COLOURED POLICIES.—The question whether the negro shall be admitted to the advantages of life insurance is agitating the insurance companies. Why should he not? Is he not a Fifteenth amendment, clothed with all political rights? If the negro can insure his house, or his furniture, or buy a ticket in a lottery and ride in a palace car, why can he not insure his life? Generally a negro is a "good life"; that is, he probably will live long enough to pay in premiums the amount of insurance. We think the life insurance companies would be perfectly safe in insuring him, and, in fact, should be glad to get him for a customer.—*New York Herald*.

DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM ON THE COLOURED POPULATION.—1. Resolved, That we *will not* employ any negro on our plantation, or houses, or places of business.—2. That we *will hire* every negro we can so as to prevent carpet-baggers and scallawags from obtaining labour.—3. That the negro, from his laziness, will soon perish and disappear from the South.—4. That the negroes, many of them, are too industrious and thrifty.—5. That we *will not rent* or sell land to negroes.—6. That we *will sell or rent* land to negroes or "any other men" who will pay us.—7. That the negroes will soon be paupers.—8. That many of the negroes are becoming rich, and that the same must be stopped.—9. That the negro (before election) is a clever fellow, but a "coloured cuss from Africa after the election."—*Holty Springs Star*.

THE KU-KLUX-KLAN.—A delegation of Republicans have arrived at Washington from North Carolina, and intend to proceed North to lay before members of Congress and others the condition of affairs in that State and the attitude of the coloured men. They have also a mass of evidence, going to show in what manner the election in that State was carried by the Ku-Klux organisation.—*New York Tribune*.

WHAT FIVE WHITE MEN DID.—A negro named Wilson had some difficulty with a white man named Jordan in a town near Memphis, Tenn., a few days since. The negro caused Jordan's arrest, which so incensed the white man's friends that on Saturday night last, says a Memphis telegram, "five of them went to Miller's house, tied him, and after taking him from the house, stripped him and beat him to death with switches."—*National Standard*.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR FREEDMEN.

	£	s.	d.
John Spence, Esq., Wakefield, per			
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Hall, Pontefract	...	2	2 0
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THE TRANSVAAL.

The following is an extract from a private letter written by an old resident of Uitenhage:—

"It was recently my lot to pay a visit to Pretoria while the Volksraad was sitting. The majority of this august assembly is made up of people who can neither read nor write. The greater the ignorance the greater the arrogance of the Transvaalers, and they are afraid that their influence with a more enlightened population, or 'natties,' as we from the colony are called, will dwindle away. Then there is a dangerous class of foreigners, who wish to keep the people ignorant that they may rule them for their own interests. One or two instances will show. By the new marriage laws, it was intended to compel bride and bridegroom to sign the register, but it was lost by the vote of the Voorzitter and another, on the ground that it would give dissatisfaction to those who could not write. Another instance: the Commandant General has been flogging the Kafirs, and now pretends he did it in ignorance of the laws. But the State Attorney was going on with the prosecution when the Raad passed a resolution forbidding the prosecution. The colonial papers must help us to set these wrongs right. This class legislation, one law for the white and another for the black, is the curse of the country; the blacks are in fact slaves; several of them have lately fled from the republic. The liberty to all parties is daily increasing, and if we could only get a couple of thousand of the right stamp here, the Transvaal would be worth living in. For restoration of health a finer country could not be found. The climate resembles Italy."—*Uitenhage Times*, July 22.

A FRIGHTFUL CONTRAST.—Between September, 1866, and April, 1868, there had been introduced into Cuba, 17,721 Chinese, making with those previously introduced 96,581 souls—of whom *only 52 were women*. The expense to the importer averaged 225 dols. a head, while the sale of the contract averaged 374 dols. a head, giving a profit of 149 dols., or about 66 per cent.—*Consul Crawford (Havana)*.